/187 cont./

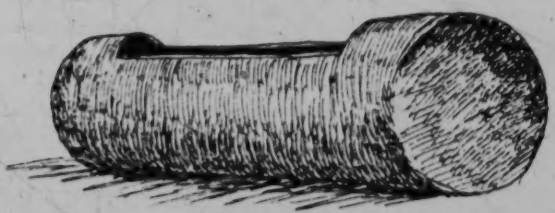
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 • 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacuris /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú íwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

/199 cont./

*192 178 411 • [276] war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpĩ. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpĩ-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 714 535 *192 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called in Tukano baxtĩ-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and, up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpĩ (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3) ).

177 178 411 *[192] 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use, and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

/206 cont./

386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush,
415 letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time
*[192] and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-
[515] sõtĩ, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí,
• [276] of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ,
[415] is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast
[532] they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2) ), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2) ). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

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*192 i) Stimulants and narcotics.

• 276 [178] 1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mõ'rõ (Uaupés mõ'nõ) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mõ'rõ be'tó (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5) ) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

[177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 263 2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, byá, in large doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called byá-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

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*[192] In some cases they crush and chew the pure pepper: the Indian pepper (cápsicum fructéscens, Willd, of the Solanaceae) and many others, such as those called koró-byá, awí-byá, oxbó-byá, etc.

It is amazing how even children two years old or perhaps less take the beijú moistened in the quinhapira without showing that they feel the burning of the pepper, which is excessive for our taste.

The pepper is used by them as a stimulant for the appetite, due to the lack of salt or other seasonings.

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*[192] 3) Kaxpí (Nheengatú: Caápi) (57).

57. As we observe below regarding the Ipadú, the word Kaxpí might be derived from the Nheengatú Caapí, or vice versa. It is certain, on the one hand, that the use of kaxpí is a very ancient one and is lost in the legends, and, on the other hand, that it is general among all the tribes of the region.

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*[192] The origin and use of Kaxpí is lost in legend (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/" by the Author). At a feast that took place among the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), with the participation of the Kubêwãna and Huhudêne (from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana) and elements from several other tribes, on the days of the 24th and 25th of April of 1955, a Tukano paje, Henrique by name, from Japú-igarapé (trib. of the Uaupés), brought with much care a pair of instruments called eheõnõ (that is, catarrh, grippe), very old and religiously preserved by him as a fortunate heir of his ancestors. They were similar to a small wooden horn, reinforced with rolled tucum fiber and measuring about 25 centimeters. It was made to sound by blowing with force through the upper orifice, and simultaneously slowly opening the lower orifice, slightly wider than the upper one,

/228 cont./

276 and which was being obstructed by the palm of the hand. The
773 sound imitated a child's crying. The possessor of the instruments explained that the eheõnõ is the "mother of the kaxpí." The unrestrained native imagination, excited by the drinks, especially by the Kaxpí, upon hearing this sound, relives the legend and perhaps even reproduces the legendary scene of the first components of the group, who fell upon the newborn and ate his bones, "which were Kaxpí."

276 Kaxpí is a drink of bitter flavor, which is obtained from some vines, especially of the genus banistéria. I would not know whether it is more accurate to call it stimulant or narcotic, violent and almost /229/ instantaneous for the Indians (58),

58. Thus A. R. Wallace describes (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 381) the effect of the kaxpí: "An old Indian advanced toward the middle of the room, with a large (?) clay pot, which seemed recently painted, and which was put on the ground. Then, squatting, the old man stayed down, in front of the pot, and started to stir the contents. Then he filled with liquid two small cuias, and, rising, he extended his arms, holding, however, a cuia in each hand. After a short pause two Indians advanced in his direction, carrying their bows and arrows and their spears. Each one, holding the cuia offered, drank the amount that it contained. Because that drink was excessively bitter, each one made a very ugly face. For half a minute perhaps they remained motionless. Suddenly both gave a hard blow on the strings of their bows, making them vibrate; they shook their spears, stamped their feet on the ground, and then went to look for their seats.

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/Footnote 58 cont./ The small cuias were again filled and in the same way were presented to two other Indians, who approached and behaved in an identical manner. And so, two at a time, they followed one another. Some, however, acted more excited. Brandishing the spears, they then ran around the house furiously, as if they wished to kill an enemy, stamped their feet on the ground, uttered yells, and jumped savagely, in a warlike and at the same time frightening attitude. And, as the others had done, they afterwards peacefully returned to occupy their seats. The greater part receives loud and frantic applause from those present, which is also done sometimes during the dances." This strange final scene is called "blow-to-the-white," pexká-sã-paasé, and we have also witnessed it (cf. VII, 4, e (2-8 /sic/), without any connection, however, with the taking of kaxpí. We think that it might be a mistake by Wallace, supposing it to be a mere effect of the kaxpí, when, in reality, it is a regular ritual of the Dabacuris, and one that can take place even before drinking the kaxpí.

on account of the alkaloid banisterina, however temporary in effect. The pajés Henrique from the Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), both from the Tukano tribe, said that they prepared the kaxpí with the bark of the following cipos: 1st) mẽrẽ-oẽ-kaxpí-dá (ingá cipo), 2nd) boxká-dá (joined cipo /Port. cipó encontrado/, of which there are two varieties); 3rd) kúri-kaxpí-dá (a noded cipo, which gives some of the strongest kaxpí), 4th) sẽi-pixkõrõ-dá (guariba-tail cipo), 5th) yehé-fiõxkã-dá (garça /heron/ leg cipo). Having extracted the bark from the cipos, they crush it well in a wooden tub and

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*192 • 276 dilute it in water. They also crumble the leaves of kaxpí-pũrĩ and of kãna-pũrĩ, reducing them to a mass like tobacco, which is precisely called kaxpí-mõ'rõ (tobacco of kaxpí) and which is mixed with the previous liquid. They also mix in the leaves of doxké-morẽrĩ-dá and duxtú-sarẽnõ-dá.

[115] A seringueiro /rubber worker/ from Urânia (on the Colombian Uaupés /spelled Vaupés in Colombia/), with a Tukano mother and raised and living among the natives of the region, heard from the Taryana that, besides the above cipos, they also use the one /230/ called ma-kaxpí-dá, of which there are three varieties, which produce a very strong drink, hence the fame of the kaxpí of the Taryana as being stronger.

[415] A few hours of infusion in water, in an amphora of 8 or 10 liters in capacity, with the customary designs, called kaxpí-tõ, are enough for it to be in a condition to be consumed. Its use is reserved exclusively for persons of the masculine sex and mature age. They believe that the "ritual blowing" by the pajé or by some Komũ increases its imagination-exciting quality. It is served in small cuias, followed immediately by libations of caxirí.

Under the action of the kaxpí, the Indian is said to have pleasant visions. "He sees luminous signals" was the expression of our useful Tukano helper, Antônio Barreto. And it was also what Koch Grünberg saw (Zwei Jahre, 201), to whom it seemed that he saw marvelous bright sparkles when he turned his eyes toward the dark, or red flames when he ran them across the paper.

An official of the Colombian customs in Iauareté (river Uaupés) took it and saw images of objects with great brightness, and with all clarity he perceived geometrical figures, and even theorems of trigonometry came to his mind. A trader from the river Querarí revealed to us that on a certain occasion the kaxpí had caused in him a beautiful and pleasant distortion of the sensations. Thus the women seemed to be slithering snakes with very beautiful decorations; the flutes /flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/ gave him the impression of a large orchestra.

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• 276 Thus its effect is also a superexcitation of the imagination. Nevertheless he sometimes falls to the ground, unconscious. "With the fourth cuia," says the old Indian Antônio to Koch G. (Zwei Jahre, 201), "people fall violently and then have the most beautiful visions" (59).

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59. From our personal experience we can say that we have drunk kaxpí prepared by Makú, Wanãna and Taryana natives. At the great feast of the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés), which was discussed above, kaxpí of the Makú, Wanãna, and Taryãna tribes was served. That of the Makú tribe was prepared by one of the Makú who served as slaves to the Wanãna of the locality. That of the Taryana was made by the old Taryana Calisto from Iauareté, who brought with him from that locality, for this occasion, a bunch of thick cipo (one inch in diameter and 1.5 meters in length approximately). The kaxpí was distributed personally by the local tuxaua, Mandú by name, who simultaneously took two small cuias, one for each person. The Komũ, who "had blown" the drink before the cuias were filled, stirred the liquid, using a piece of thick cipo, with four intumescences, and which is one of the ingredients of the drink. It is taken without difficulty, since it has a bearable bitter taste. Nevertheless, several Indians made faces and some of them spit out the rest. Following that, three men, each /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with two large cuias of caxirí, came in a line, zigzagging and making a noise with the mouth like the buzzing of an insect, and distributed the caxirí to those who had drunk kaxpí, in order to take away the unpleasant taste. Some Indians declared to us that they had seen luminous globes or flames. We did not preceive

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/footnote 59 cont./ anything: we experienced, then, only a slight excitation in the muscles of the legs and, at night, strong occipital pain in the head. We believe, however, that such sensations had nothing to do with the drink and were only the effects of tiredness, of the sun and the heat of the day. We later observed to the Taryana Indians who had accompanied us to the feast that the kaxpí was weak and we had felt nothing. They explained to us that one of the ingredients was missing, a cipo that was planted by an old man who had already died and they had not found such cipo upon undertaking the trip. They promised us to prepare later, with all the technique, a quite strong kaxpí. Actually they did it days later and offered it to us. With fear of a violent reaction caused by the drink, we did not want to take it in public, but in private, and not only a small cuia, but we drank quite a good cuia in three stages. Although, like Koch G., we had before our eyes a white paper on which we wrote down our notes, we did not get to perceive any luminous sensation or any other external feeling. Only the unpleasant taste made us indisposed, although without vomiting, forcing us to diet that day, and to use bitter drops and other stomach potions later. We are of the opinion that, for this reason, the effects indicated in the Indians must be explained by the easy excitability of their imaginations.

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4) Pátu (Nheengatú: Ipadú) (60).

60. The Tukano name pátu seems to be derived from the Nheengatú ipadú, making us suppose that the tribes of the Uaupés might have received from the tribes of the Rio Negro, of Nheengatú language, the use of the ipadú. It is true that nowadays the caboclos of the Rio Negro and the Indians of the Içana do not use ipadú.

It is the product of coca, a bush of the family of the Erythroxylaceae (erythróxylon coca, Lin.), which takes root easily from a branch. Although the adult women can also take ipadú, its planting falls to the men, and they do it in the clearing, and sometimes even close to the maloca, as a hedge. Daily the men pick the tender leaves, let them dry, and afterwards toast them in a special pot, called pátu-axtẽrĩ-tõ. As seasoning for the ipadú, pátu-mõã, they burn leaves of the embaúba /imbauba/ (Cecrópia) or of cucura in the interior (61)

61. We do not know whether the burning at the door of the maloca is a prescription of magical character or only for reasons of convenience. This second hypothesis is more probable, actually, they execute without any difficulty the various operations of the preparation of the ipadú outside the maloca as well, in order to be filmed.

of the maloca, although beside the door. Mixing the ashes with the toasted leaves of the ipadú, they pass slowly through a mortar of usual form the pátu-ahũ-gõ or pátu-doxké-khá, until everything is well crushed. Afterwards they place the powder in a tururĩ bag, which is called pátu-pa:rĩ-sutiro.

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*192 • 276 Across this bag runs a stick, called /232/ pátu-pá:-ko. Introducing it in a tube of elongated pestle shape (of 1.80 meters and about 15 centimeters in diameter, and called pátu-pá:põ), they knock the bag against the walls of the tube with their two hands, until the powder is so finely pulverized that it passes through the bag and is deposited in the tube. In order to facilitate the work, they customarily tie this tube to one of the columns of the maloca, in such a way that the opening stays a meter in height from the ground, a comfortable position for the one who must "beat" the ipadú, and the closed end rests on the ground.

T [415] Finally the powder is taken out and kept in proper bags, also of tururí, called pátu-ahuró or pátu-waxsóro, the mouth of which has thrust in it a fine tube, pátu-baarí-oã, of taquara

Ipadú bag (patu ahuró)

or of heron bone (yehé-oã), through which the powder is drawn in, just as a refreshment is sucked in our bars. This is done on trips, because in the house the ipadú is more commonly kept in a cuia, and they help themselves to it by taking a handful with a wooden spatula or even a leaf. They do it with care

M 276 in order to keep the powder from falling into the windpipe. The Makú prepare it in balls. The Indian uses ipadú especially when he goes hunting or fishing, because, narcotic that it is, it keeps him from feeling hunger or thirst, and in this way he dispenses with carrying food. They make it into a

T M [562] ball which they keep in a corner of the mouth, sucking on it little by little. The women, except for very rare exceptions, do not eat the ipadú; only the adult men.

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184 • 276 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés; it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

> 62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[197] [178] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools, scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

> 63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tí is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 * [192] [177] Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

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It is not only the pajé, however, who uses the cigar for its magic power and applies "blowings." They believe, moreover, that the smoke spread by some persons, particularly certain old men, have the same virtue as the smoke of the pajé, or almost. The same is said of the "blowings." This is the reason why in some circumstances (giving the name, VIII - 1, b (6) /see 1, b (4)/, puberty initiation, VIII - 1 b (7), etc.) these persons intervene, "blowing" smoke.

[881]

We learned of episodes of individuals who bragged about the force of their own "blowing," capable of sending sicknesses and misfortunes, and they would terrify the others with this.

These "blowers" are called Komũá (plural Komũ), corresponding, it seems, to the ethnological concept of "initiate."

We have witnessed the long theoretical preparation, in the form of evening lectures, which the older Komũá gives to those who aspire to the same position. The old Komũ /sic/, squatting, or seated on a stool, having before him the aspirant, also squatting or seated, starts developing his program of instruction. When it seems /285/ proper to him, perhaps after one or two hours of explanation, he ends his lesson, saying farewell to his pupil with the salutation nĩka-nĩya (U. nĩka-niña), adios! (lit. you remain behind).

*[192]

Seated at a certain distance, in pleasant conversation among themselves, are other Komũ and the tuxáua. When the first one has finished his lesson on the histories, legends, beliefs, traditions, customs, origin of things and of sicknesses, etc., a second one will come to instruct the pupil, who patiently waits for the new lesson and shows his interest and improvement by carrying on a dialogue with the master, according to the native custom. And the lessons extend until late hours of the night, ended by a general farewell. Masters and students, during these hours of lectures, generously help themselves to ipadú (cf. VI - 4, 1 (3) /see 4, 1 (4)/).

One of the more expert Taryana natives, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who had also taken the course to become a pajé, told us that the pajé has periodic meetings, once or twice a month, with the various Komũá. He forewarns them of sicknesses that

276 /285 cont./
756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are
to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.
[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wĩhĩõ to the Komũã to sniff ("wĩhĩõ wĩhỹõti kã̃ axkawerẽra-ré peókamĩ"; he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pũrĩã (Uaupés Pinõ punĩã). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

[797] 39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

/291 cont./

c) In the food.

264 The practice of preparing and eating food with clean hands is not in force among the natives. They break off the pieces of beijú with the hands, and, one after the other, each person dips it with the fingers into the quinhapira. If this, by chance, is too hot, he will use a stick, casually found on the ground, to take out the fragment of beijú that slipped from his fingers into the pot.

The beijú and other foods are not only held in dirty hands, but they are also deposited on the hammock or some other filthy object.

[271] [276] They drink from the same cuia, which goes from mouth to mouth. In the same way, the cigar or a ball of candy will pass from one mouth to another.

They have been seen taking and eating some food, perhaps even spoiled, placed in the garbage container or in the feed for the pigs. And even going so far as to compete with some animal for the ration that it is eating, even though it is on the ground or in a trough.

d) In the acts.

515 They likewise practice certain very repugnant acts. By way of an example, there is that of the mother who, with her own tongue, cleans the nose of her little child; or who eats the parasites as she finds them on the head of her children. This, by the way, is a general custom when one woman "searches" another. Perhaps, in lieu of payment, whoever has the /292/ job of searching also eats the lice. More rarely she will give the parasite to its legitimate owner (46).

46. Although it is a general custom, and they always observe it when a woman searches for parasites on the head of another person, they refuse to say whether there is any magic meaning in this practice. Whenever they perceive that they are being watched, or fear that they are, they interrupt the act and go so far as to try to disguise it.

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533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also
533 regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very
• [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the
*[192] tuxáua sings as follows:
[539] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra, yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra"; that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively
[562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the
[273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule,
[535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

142
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• 276
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796

Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

/326 cont./

775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

756 774 According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

825 *[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papuri an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

[782] [276]

*192 /337 cont./

534 Mĩrĩ is probably from the same root as mĩrĩ, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

> 44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wãx-tĩ appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mĩrĩ. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

[481]

778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mĩriã, that is, occult, mysterious.

• 276 778 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the paje. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

[855]

796
535
[829]
[115]

/346 cont./

/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b) ), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1) ).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

[276]

/350 cont./

796 538 [123] At the various times that we had the opportunity to attend these feasts, we did not see any initial ceremony. Each one seated in front of his antagonist, at a distance of a meter perhaps, they start to narrate in a singing tone accompanied by broad gestures and alternately with the right and the left arm. They unravel the legends of the origin of the world and of the tribes, as well as the exploits of their ancestors. They speak alternately and sometimes also simultaneously, breaking off only take a breath and perhaps, at a given time, to recall some further episode. The event told by his competitor will sometimes serve to remind him of another episode. So it seems to us.

If, by any chance, they carry to him the cuia of caxirí, he receives it without looking; he will keep it in his hand until he finishes the episode that he is narrating, and then he will swallow it rapidly, returning it empty to the one who brought it, and who remained patiently waiting.

It seems to be a matter of a true challenge. A competition of oratory and also of time, of rapidity of locution, of physical or, better, pulmonary endurance. During all this time they do not concern themselves about the audience, though there may perhaps be an indiscreet white who has come closer to observe better. At a certain point, however, /351/ one of the old men of the maloca intervenes and interrupts one of the narrators (we do not know whether he does it only to one of another tribe or maloca who came for the poosé, as in the case that we had a chance to observe), directing some words to him in a rapid dialogue. They informed us that it is the practice, and it is a thanks for his activity. But soon afterwards the competition proceeds with the same rhythm and intonation.

276 796 538 The Rite of the Cigar. The principal act of the Legendary Commemorations is the Rite of the Cigar, which takes place around 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and which marks, moreover, the official ending of the poosé. Two enormous cigars, each tied to its fork (VI 2, b (5) ), starting with the tuxaua and one of the Kõmũã, will pass simultaneously from mouth to mouth,

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some p[illegible] and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũ̃ã̃ the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are care-
576 fully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ). The guest tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũ̃ã who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic: 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

/389 cont./

d) Sexual education.

864

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge [581] of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during [593] the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

/400 cont./

533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the
535 rhythm tube.
*[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

*[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/428 cont./

844 [608] Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõá (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koá (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] • [276] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 *[192] 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

[115]

844 [178] As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the Pax-koá, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
• [276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

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Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invitation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens. Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex, but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi* (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash, melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahikino* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 80). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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682 [614]
derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault.

[593] [578] [763] [825]
Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625] however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697] and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

682 593
Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266] crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762] he then cut his throat and died.

683
I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

685
Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276] is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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769 796 [614] taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him [222] [857] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door. [273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] [276] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwü* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwü* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardimu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *harathume* (*haraí*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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574 576 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 576 182 796 [765] [831] This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately manner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by subsidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the [276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker;

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center.

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough.

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers.

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihí* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner.

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. 574 Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and 273 hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and •276 finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." [825] *Mihí* is associated with *miwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

574 *Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that 276 are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a [249] great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the [171] men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

[1] There is also a bird called *mihíkó*.

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There is a strong sensation that an animal is biting one's buttocks, a feeling of the feet being tied. The earth spins and the ground rises to the head. There are moments of euphoria as well, when one hears music, the sound of people singing, and the sound of flowing water. The Cubeo do not take *mihi* for the pleasure of its hallucinations but for the intensity of the total experience, for the wide range of sensation. I spoke to no one who pretended to enjoy it.

A sacred drug, *mihi* is handled in a ritualistic manner and is served from a distinctive pottery jug that is never washed. When the hosts – always a pair, one man holding the jug and the other the serving dish – offer *mihi* the following stylized exchange takes place. The guests exclaim, "*ho ho ho ho ho o o o*, here it comes." The host asks, "How are you?" and the guest replies, "I am well. I have come well." The host stirs the *mihi*, saying to it, "Stir! Look, it is bitter. It tastes bitter. Our Ancients also drank it." The guest replies, "Let me take it. Let me see if I can drink it in the same way as our Ancients did. I am going to drink." He drinks it down and is offered a mandatory second drink. The host says, "Look. Here it is, drink again." The guest now replies, "I am going to drink so as to see [a vision]." A guest whose father is dead will say upon receiving the *mihi*, "My father, when he was alive, drank like this, so he told me. He sought me out that I might drink. My father never got drunk when he drank it."

When each guest has had his two portions of *mihi* the hosts drink off two portions and then serve one portion to each guest again. The guests murmur *ba ha a a a*, meaning "well done." When the last portion is given, the host announces, "We have finished drinking," and each guest replies, "I am pleased." At this the host announces he is sitting down to have a vision, and he retires. Suddenly he leaps up at the guests in the characteristic *mihi* dance and with the sucking sound. He intends to frighten them and shouts *wetcówe* (vomit!), and the guests reply, "Bring it on. We wish to vomit."

Drinking, smoking, chewing coca powder, and taking the infusion of *mihi* are all acts with strong symbolism of sharing a group experience. Out of bravado a man may down an entire calabash of chicha. More often he will pass it to a neighbor, who will also take a few swallows and pass the calabash along. The drinker will also have taken chicha from the quantity prepared by each cosponsor. The cigarette is passed from mouth to mouth. The host provides tobacco, which he passes among his guests from a bark-cloth pouch, and a bark wrapper, which is tied to the house posts. Guests may smoke their own tobacco but will always use the wrapper that is

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• 276 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversations of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together [614] to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihí*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

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535 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, [533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

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765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiki* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihí* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihí*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

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The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the [276]
last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273]
lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also (574)
complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

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The first guests to arrive are the Satellites—members of the sib— 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of (614)
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [431]
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the 576
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

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While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 574
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 789
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 754
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *dyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *dyne*.

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After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 574

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *ôyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow. [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihí*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihí* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihí* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihí* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihí* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihí* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains 765 during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, 532 where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs 276 a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihí*, and it presides over the *ôyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *ôyne*.[9] Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

[9] The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kawí* (vulture) with *kawíno* (sky).

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékokũ*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvatyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhóũkũ* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokũwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dũpa*, the resin of the *amhóũkũ* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kũria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkũ* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kũria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvatyo*, the *hokũwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dũpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dũpa* and it is a resin.

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriáhũ* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitũwũ* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# 2

# *A Death*

114 Matias arrived at the *maloca* the following day with the rest of the equipment we had left behind at the portage. Without his help we would have had to abandon it. That same night he started back on the return journey with his brother Bernavez, back to their *maloca* on the Río Ti. With them seemed to go our last contact with the outside world. Now was the time to collect our thoughts, to reorganize the equipment and to decide how we were going to carry out our work. The surroundings, the atmosphere, the Indians, everything was new. Each day, when evening arrived and we had eaten, we would sit across our hammocks and read by the light of a candle, or write up the day's events in our diaries. On Friday 6 January Brian wrote:

123 'Did not sleep very well last night, probably because I had taken a large
276 mouthful of coca just before getting into my hammock. Nearly choked, the fine green powder making it virtually impossible to breathe; so had to run down to the river and wash my mouth free. The Tukano must have a special method for swallowing it.

512 The women got up very early, long before dawn, but I couldn't tell the time because my watch was lost on the way over the portage – too bad. They rubbed down manioc and the continuous noise made all further sleep
126 impossible. Horacio left for the river before first light to develop a film he had taken with his old Rollei, also one of mine to see whether I'm giving the correct exposure in these dark conditions. He prepared the hypo last night and has to develop before the water temperature rises.

114 At dawn Kuarumey opened the door and the cold air rushed into the *maloca*. I went out to the jungle to relieve myself, armed as usual with a bottle to collect a humus sample. We do this nearly every morning – all these tiny bottles. I wonder whether the American drug company will ever discover a new Amazonian anti-biotic? Lovely pale pinks and delicate blues, the mist rising in great banks off the forest, and dew dripping from the trees. It was so peaceful and cool.

We joined Horacio for a late breakfast; all of us rather at sixes and sevens with each other as to what to do. The last days have taken a lot out of us and

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000 *Our train of canoes on the Piraparaná – José in front.*

 [see p. 46-A]

/p. 62-B/

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ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



415 pottery making, a craft which has been all but forgotten among many of the Indians of Colombia.

512 Throughout the afternoon the women continue with their tasks while the men prepare their tobacco and smoke it wrapped in long cylinders of
• 276 banana leaf, or take snuff, lying in their hammocks or crouching on small wooden stools. The snuff, kept in gourds or large snail shells, is made in most cases from ground tobacco; it is first placed in the palm of the hand, then a small quantity is poured into a hollow V-shaped deer bone, and is injected into the nostrils by inserting one end of the V in the nose and the other in the mouth and blowing.

During the afternoon an Indian burns the *yarumo* leaves from the coca basket in the centre of the *maloca*, the ash being carefully raked into a neat
276 pile on the earthen floor. Earlier the coca leaves from the basket had been baked in a large earthenware pot over a hot fire, all the while being stirred with a hooped stick. The toasted leaves were then powdered inside a short wooden cylinder. They are further refined by being put into a barkcloth bag wrapped round a heavy stick, and beaten inside a large cylinder. The *yarumo* ash is added to the finely ground powder – this ash takes away the bitterness, and perhaps also the worst effects of the drug – and once again the mixed coca and ash is beaten in the long cylinder to the consistency of dust. Often this involved procedure goes on far into the night, and we became quite accustomed to go to sleep with the monotonous thudding noise still reverberating around the *maloca*. With the final process completed the powder is emptied into a half-gourd or into small barkcloth pouches, ready for the next journey or hunting trip, during which an Indian may live solely on the drug, going without sleep, food and drink for days.

The inscrutable nature of the Tukano may in part be due to his addiction to cocaine which deadens his senses and affects the eyes so that the pupils often appear dilated. This may also account for a lack of individuality among many of the men who often appear listless and resigned.

354 At dusk the hunters return and sometimes a monkey or a wild turkey helps out with the evening meal of cassava. The only light in the *maloca* after dark comes from the fires, but on special occasions, such as a festival, the head of the house places a chunk of beeswax taken from a wild bees' nest in the forest on a large post in the centre of the *maloca*, lighting it with a firebrand. But the flickering light barely penetrates the gloom. At other times a strip of slow-burning resinous wood is put in a fork of the same post. It is this wood – a type of cedar – which the Indians use to travel with at night, allowing it to
512 smoulder and blowing it into flame when needed. As night comes the doors are secured and, except for the sporadic mumblings of a few old Indians squatting around the fires, all is silent.

224 The Tukano is a hunter. From his early childhood he develops the ability

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet.

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder.

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals.

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo

*Tukano profile and festival head-dress.* [see p. 78-B]

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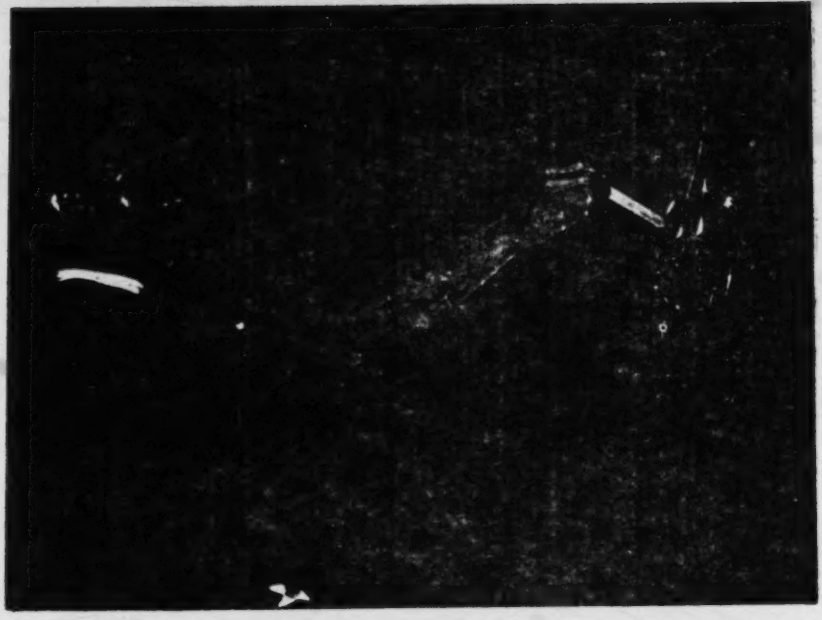

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.